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NOTES AND NEWS.

MR. W. A. CHAMBERS, our Indian readers will be glad to learn, is to address a series of meetings in England before his return to India. Two of these meetings have been arranged by Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., who heard Mr. Chambers's admirable speech at the Westminster Palace Hotel. The first meeting was held at Sheffield on Wednesday night, and, as we go to press, the following report of it reaches us by telegram:—

Sheffield, Thursday.

Mr. W. A. Chambers, editor of the *Bombay Champion*, delivered an address in the lecture hall of the Young Men's Christian Association, Sheffield, last night, on "What Educated India wants."

The chair was taken by Councillor John Derry, editor of the *Sheffield Daily Independent*, who spoke of the pressure of Indian problems and the need for information from independent observers.

Mr. Chambers, who received a most attentive hearing, combated strongly the description of educated Indians which is sedulously spread in this country, and outlined the programme for which the Indian National Congress and the responsible section of the Native Press in India is striving. He argued that England, having educated Indians, should give them a fairer share of the appointments they are fitted to fill. He condemned the forward policy beyond the Indian frontier, and also the attempts now being made to withdraw some of the powers of local government which had been conceded.

A vote of thanks was moved by Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., who put several questions to Mr. Chambers on the fitness of Indians for administrative work.

Mr. James Wilson, formerly editor of the *Indian Daily News*, in seconding the vote of thanks, expressed his concurrence with much that Mr. Chambers had said, and indicated the points on which he held a different opinion.

The vote of thanks, passed unanimously, closed a very interesting and useful meeting.

Yesterday's *Times* published the list of successful candidates in the recent open competitive examination for the Home Civil Service, India Civil Service, and Eastern cadetships. The list, which consisted of 94 names, included the names of only eight Indian candidates. These were Mr. Manmatha Krishna Deb (48th place); Mr. Jotindra Nath Roy (of Narail) (52nd place); Mr. Byramjee Rustomjee Mehta (66th place); Mr. Pratap Chandra Dutt (69th place); Mr. Charu Chandra Dutt (71st place); Mr. Jotindra Nath Roy (of Dacca) (75th place); Mr. Gokal Chand Badhwar (81st place); and Mr. Ghazanfur Ali Khan (89th place). Once more one wonders how many Indian candidates would have been successful if the examination had been held simultaneously in India, as it ought to be, and as the House of Commons resolved that it should be, held.

The *Standard* announced yesterday (Thursday), apparently with authority, that "Lord George Hamilton has replied to the Despatch of the Government of India regarding the future control of the Khyber Pass. It is understood that the Government and the Secretary of State are practically in agreement except on minor points. In Indian official circles there is a growing belief that we are shortly to take over the Khyber."

The *Daily News* (London), in some recent comments on Sir Thomas Holdich's paper on Tirah, said it was evident that the frontier tribes must be disarmed. The job is a tolerably stiff one; in fact, it can't be done—and, if it were done, the tribes would starve. Has the *Daily News* reflected on the meaning of its free-and-easy proposal? The *Pioneer* could inform our contemporary. The area of proposed disarmament is about 20,000 square miles of mountain—of which we have had quite sufficient experience to last us for a generation at least. It is inhabited by about 1,250,000 people, of whom about 250,000 are males capable of bearing arms. Now, where do they get their arms and their ammunition? The *Pioneer* has been examining the subject, and its conclusions appear to be quite just.

First, as to ammunition. "Deducting 10,000 for officers, there must be somewhere about 250,000 men" of the Indian army "armed with Lee-Metford and Martini-Henry rifles." Each man gets annually 200 rounds of ammunition; the total annual issue is about 50,000,000 rounds. The men must return 90 per cent. of empty cartridge cases, the "authorised leakage" being thus 5,000,000 cartridges a year. "Numerous seizures of ammunition by the police on its way to the frontier have proved that in almost every cantonment in India there are *kabaris* and others who buy cartridges from soldiers and camp-followers, and sell them again to the Kabulis and other trans-frontier traders, who overrun India every cold weather." And this is only one source; there are others probably enough.

Next, as to the arms. Arms are obtained from regiments: (1) by desertion (50 men, mostly Afridis, deserted during the recent operations); (2) by capture in war (300 good rifles were taken by tribesmen in the campaigns of 1897-98); (3) by theft (about 670 rifles were stolen in 1890-98). Arms are also obtained from arsenals—witness the wholesale leakages some time back at Agra and at Ferozpur; but no approximate number can be specified. Kabul is a possible source; and "the surplus arms and the arms of obsolete pattern would be sold and would pass into the hands of the tribesmen." The brisk trade in the Persian Gulf does not seem to have sent any arms into the frontier zone; nor are the clever gunsmiths of the Kohat Pass able to make very effective weapons out of the fragments of broken-up arms.

On such a careful review of the accessible facts, the *Pioneer* suggests three methods of check:—

(1) Military action to prevent leakage from arsenals and losses from regiments.

(2) Police action along a fixed line, say the Indus, something after the manner of the old salt customs preventive line, to intercept arms on their way from India to the zone.

(3) Political action to recover arms after they have reached the zone.

But, adds the *Pioneer*, "even when all these measures are worked to perfection, it is doubtful whether we can prevent ammunition finding its way from India, or the tribesmen from supplying themselves with arms in the Kabul bazaar." "So long as a rifle fetches Rs. 300, and a round of ammunition 4 annas, the illicit traffic," from the Punjab frontier, "will be difficult to suppress." Perhaps the Traffic in Arms Committee will be able to throw further light on this important question. Meantime the *Pioneer's* very able article merits careful study.

We are not as yet aware whether Lord George Hamilton has taken any steps to obtain that "rigid enquiry" into the abandonment of the Khyber Pass, which Sir Henry Fowler most properly urged, and which is eagerly looked for by many people in India. Lord George said that the Brigadier-General in command of the Peshawar district was of opinion that he could not spare troops enough "to force the pass"; and the Brigadier's opinion was confirmed by Sir George White. But the *Pioneer* effectively points out that the question was "not whether the troops at Peshawar were sufficient to force the Pass, but whether they were to let things reach such a predicament that the Pass would ever need to be forced at all." There were some 12,000 men at Peshawar. On the admission of the Government, the Afridi *lashkar* was "greatly discouraged"

by the "timely arrival of the troops at Jamrud." The *Pioneer* contends rightly:—

Had this been followed up by the despatch of supports to Lundi Kotal and Ali Musjid, the discouragement would have been complete. It was bad enough that the Commissioner of Peshawar (Sir Richard Udny) should be associated with such a mistake in judgment, but it is worse to find that the Commander-in-Chief in India and the General commanding the Peshawar District should be directly saddled with a share of the responsibility.

The annual discussion upon the Budget is the only occasion on which members of provincial councils in India are permitted to comment on the administration. The members of the Bombay Council honestly performed their duty this year. The Budget itself was happily described as a "bankruptcy Budget." Two years ago there was a balance of forty lakhs. But this year even the five lakhs which were left as "opening balance" last year had been swept away, and, as the Hon. Mr. James put it, Bombay "depended upon a dole from the Government of India to prevent its putting up the shutters and going into the Insolvency Court, and its power of usefulness or of forwarding the moral and material progress of the Presidency was absolutely crippled." Contrast this with the rosy picture of the condition of India which Lord George Hamilton painted for the House of Commons, and his refusal to receive help from the British Exchequer on the ground that India needed no help!

The Hon. Mr. Chandravarkar commented on the harsh treatment of the forest contractors, and dwelt at length on the rigour employed by the Government towards poor cultivators just recovering from the effects of famine. The lands of about 75 per cent. of them, he said, are "eternally mortgaged" to money-lenders, and every year their condition grows more helpless. "I, for my part, think that in the absence of any permanent settlement, which would be a consummation devoutly to be wished, there should at least be less frequent disturbance of the land settlements, and the tendency of Government measures should be to strengthen the position of the rayats." This is the cry repeated from Bombay, Madras, and indeed all parts of India by the representatives of the people. Professions of a desire to improve the material condition of the people are a mockery so long as this cry is not heeded. Frequent settlements and enhancements are at the root of India's poverty.

The Hon. Mr. Chandravarkar also stated in Council, referring to the recent increase of crimes in Nassik, that the Nassik dacoits were in many cases ruined agriculturists, forced to crime by their penury. The *Pioneer's* Bombay correspondent corroborates this statement. The Nassik police, he points out, have captured a dacoit leader who in a voluntary confession declared himself to be one of the unfortunate class referred to, and said that the operations of his gang were solely directed against the detested *Marwaris*, or Rajput money-lenders. "But who drove the agriculturists into the arms of the money-lenders?" asks the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. "They must meet the inexorable demand of the State, and this demand is ever increasing." Here is the root of the evil; and so long as recurring land settlements increase the State demand and impoverish the peasantry, it is idle to blame the money-lender who comes between the cultivator and starvation.

The Hon. Mr. Mehta pleaded forcibly that the plague expenses should not be charged to the afflicted towns, but should rather be met from the general resources of the country. He said:—

In accordance with the principles laid down by the Government of India on which the plague expenditure is to be proportionately defrayed, the Corporation will have to bear all the charges, excepting those of a minor character to be borne by the Government. While I am prepared to admit the applicability of these principles in most cases of epidemic diseases, I would submit that there are cogent reasons why an exception should be made as regards the plague. Epidemics like cholera and smallpox are localised and short-lived, and their effects are only locally felt, whereas the effects of plague are far-reaching, and its suppression was declared by your lordship's Government to be an "Imperial necessity."

The Governor of Bombay himself seemed to take this equitable view of the matter. The following passage in his speech is highly important:—

I have great faith in the justice—nay, I will say the generosity—of the Government of India, and I do look forward to a recognition that a large part of the expenditure that has been incurred must be of an Imperial character. I have been reminded that when the Plague Committee was appointed last year I spoke of the question of suppression of the disease as one of Imperial concern. The reminder was given by the honourable member who desires that the plague arrangements should be left uncontrolled in the hands of the municipality. Well, I contend that if this question was an Imperial matter in February, 1897, it is more so to-day. So Imperial a matter is it considered by the Secretary of State, that he desired that our organisation and arrangements should be submitted to him before we promulgated any orders. There is a political side to the question, and there is a commercial side to the question, and in these respects as well as in others it is a matter of Imperial importance.

It would seem, therefore, that Lord Sandhurst considers the plague expenditure to be Imperial expenditure, to be met from Imperial funds. Is it the Indian Government, then, or Lord George Hamilton who has decided that this expenditure should be charged to the afflicted towns? The question should be raised in this country. Englishmen would not, we think, deliberately perpetrate the cruelty of imposing additional charges on the plague-stricken cities.

For the rest, the whole of Lord Sandhurst's speech seems to have been marked by real sympathy with the people. Whatever mistakes may have been committed in Bombay and Poona in the past, he is, it seems, determined to follow the right path in the future. The following words from his speech deserve the attention of all Indian administrators:—

With regard to Bombay, I would say that there can be no doubt—I have said it over and over again in reply to addresses when I have been visiting towns and affected localities—that the thing we must continue to do in regard to plague is to endeavour to enlist the people on our side. I have recently come across some lines which I think will be familiar to almost all the Council, and which describe the feeling I have always tried to inculcate into all officers concerned with plague operations. These words are put into the mouth of the Saviour by Milton:—

Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
By winning words to conquer willing hearts
And make persuasion do the work of fear;
At least to try, and teach the erring soul,
Not wilfully misdoing, but unaware
Misled; the stubborn only to subdue.

How different the spirit of this from Sir A. Mackenzie's speech in Council misapplying some verses from Macaulay, and comparing to "jays" and "carrion kites" the loyal, peaceful, and intelligent people among whom he ruled!

Full accounts have been received by the last mail of the great meeting held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on August 31, to protest against the retrograde Municipal Bill with which the name of Sir Alexander Mackenzie will always be associated in India. It is an unenviable fame, after a service of some thirty-five years in India, to be known as the author of one of the most unpopular, ungenerous, unjust and un-English measures which have been inaugurated within the last half century of British rule. The sheriff, in opening the great meeting, expressed a hope that, if the citizens of Calcutta could yet convince the Government of the error of its ways, the Government would be pleased to mend them. One sincerely trusts that the sheriff does not hope in vain, and that the scandal of dealing a death-blow at self-government in the metropolis of India will not be added to that of enacting the Sedition Laws in this unhappy year.

Rájá Binay Krishna—a scion of the historic house which was friendly to the British Power when Clive and Hastings were laying the foundations of the Empire, and which has been conspicuously loyal to British rule during more than a century—took the chair. In eloquent words he protested against the Bill, and declared that "no measure in recent times has produced so much apprehension as this measure has done." The venerable religious leader, Protap Chandra Mazumdar, whose voice has been heard in this country and in America, "joined his heart and hand in the endeavour to condemn the proposed measure."

Mr. Norendra Nath Sen, speaking with the authority of a municipal commissioner who has served the Corporation long and faithfully, said that "under the present system vast sanitary improvements have been effected and the value of property has been doubled." He deplored the proposal "to supersede this system by a law which will take away all power from the representatives of the people." By no means the least effective speech was that

of Dr. Rash Béhari Ghosh, one of the foremost lawyers in India. Twenty-two years ago, he said, the citizens of Calcutta had assembled in that hall "to render their thanks to Sir Richard Temple and his advisers for the boon of local self-government conferred upon that city. . . . He never thought that he should one day have to plead for the Corporation's very life and existence." The Rev. H. P. Begg, an English missionary, described the proposed legislation as "preposterous" and "retrograde." "If such a measure," he said, "had been introduced in Birmingham, to which place he belonged, there would no doubt have been great opposition, and it would have had to be dropped." A memorial, protesting against the proposed law, was adopted for submission to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Is it too much to hope that the Government will yet drop the obnoxious clauses of the Bill? The period of panic in India is apparently over, and good sense and a spirit of conciliation mark the latest acts and speeches of the rulers of Bombay and Madras. Is it too much to expect that Sir John Woodburn too may signalise the beginning of his rule in Bengal by an act of justice, and cast aside a measure begotten in infatuation?

We expect to hear presently that the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has fallen a victim to the Sedition Acts. Its criticism of the Calcutta Municipal Bill of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, showing how it "can be perfected," is instructive, as it is certainly amusing. It will not bring the Government into ill-will; we are not so confident that it may not be regarded as tending to excite "contempt." We stand far off and wait to see "what will become of the child." "The main object of municipal government," says our contemporary, "is the enforcement of the rules of sanitation." The Bill provides rules galore; "the Government, as *ma bap*, has laid down how the ratepayers, as domestic animals, should live, die, eat, sleep, and drink." But "there are yet omissions."

Thus, there is no provision against tight shoes, which stop circulation, inducing apoplexy and death; no provision requiring the ratepayer to sleep "with method," namely, with his head to the south, "in order to keep him in agreement with the electric current that is created by the turning of the earth on its axis"; no provision prohibiting men from going out in the rains without a municipal license, so that the public health may be protected; no provision against indiscriminate shaving, in view of the safety of the public throat; and there are other omissions:—

> Thus, for instance, it is not laid down how many meals the ratepayers ought to have every day for the purpose of health, nor are we told what they ought to have on Mondays and what on Tuesdays. All these necessary duties of the ratepayers should be laid down by the *ma bap* Government for its children. All these done, even to the minutest details, the control of the municipality should be absolutely taken out of the hands of the people; and then the citizens will have what is called the millennium.

The criticism is a perfectly fair *reductio ad absurdum*. What is not readily intelligible is that the Government should lay itself open to such obvious and killing ridicule. When will the Government leave off this peddling futility and begin to govern?

The Hon. Mr. Risley, who is President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has just done an official act that will bring him indefinitely more honour than his connexion with the wretched Mackenzie Bill. He has issued a circular urging all those who have the opportunity to record the more primitive customs of the natives of India, and to endeavour to distinguish them from such customs as are believed to be of Aryan origin, particular attention being given to those customs and beliefs which have been handed on by oral tradition. A scheme for the guidance of collectors, in the form of nearly a hundred questions, has been drawn up by Mr. W. Crooke, whose labours in this important field of enquiry have been already noticed favourably in these pages. The answers will be published in the journal of the society. The really essential thing is the diligent collection of material; the sifting and the interpretation can be effectively performed only by experts. It is to be hoped that the collectors are enjoined to report with the utmost fidelity, adding nothing and rejecting nothing, however absurd or improbable it may appear. The key often lies elsewhere.

The discrimination of the law in practice between European and Indian receives a fresh illustration. At Allahabad, recently, an Englishman entered the railway compartment occupied by a young married Englishwoman, and got seven years' penal servitude for his insolent enterprise. Last year, at Ranaghat, there occurred a far more serious case. Two European apprentices in the Eastern Bengal Railway locomotive workshop got into a night train at Kanchapara, and, professing to be railway officials, checked the tickets of Larna Bibi, who was travelling with two children, and Sowdamini Dassee, in a third class carriage reserved for the exclusive use of women. When the train started they entered the compartment, one of them having first lowered the gas outside. The other shamefully assaulted Larna Bibi and Sowdamini, and, when the train approached Ranaghat, they both hid themselves in the bath-room of a second class carriage, where they were arrested on complaint of the women. What was the punishment awarded? The joint-magistrate gave the worst culprit one month's rigorous imprisonment, and acquitted his accomplice! The Government moved in the matter most properly, but the High Court increased the one month only to eighteen months; and the other scoundrel, who had of course bolted, has not yet been arrested. "They have thus," as the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says, with just indignation, "one law when Europeans and Europeans are concerned, and another law where Europeans and Natives are concerned." Who can doubt that if these two poor and unprotected Indian women had been English women, the blackguards would both have been visited with the severest penalty of the law on that behalf made and provided?

The *Englishman* has taken up the clamant subject of crimes of violence perpetrated by British soldiers in India. "There is little doubt," our contemporary frankly admits, "that the appearances of British soldiers in courts of justice in answer to criminal charges is out of all proportion to their numbers in this country, and we may confidently say that at least 90 per cent. of these charges are for acts of violence committed towards Natives, varying in all degrees from simple assault to murder." The *Englishman* classes the cases roughly under three heads: (1) attacks on regimental followers; (2) attacks committed under fear of attack from Natives; (3) attacks committed under the influence of liquor. But what of attacks on defenceless women in railway carriages, and elsewhere? And what of attacks like the atrocious murder of Dr. Sircar? Our contemporary would admit "some plea of mitigation of the severity of sentence" on the ground of "the extra temptations and opportunities which must always exist for the commission of violent crimes by British soldiers in this country"—a most dangerous admission, surely. "Though the present state of things is to a certain extent inevitable," concludes our contemporary, "we hold it is also capable of amelioration in some particulars, and that unless the Government of India take every possible step to remedy it, it has failed in its duty towards a by no means unimportant section of the Indian empire." So far good. But the first step is to insist that all Indians, of whatever class, shall be treated by all Englishmen, from the official hierarchy downwards, with the same respect as if they were Englishmen and Englishwomen—not "savages," or "damned niggers."

Now that Mr. Chamberlain has provided some relief for the West Indies sugar industry, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* naturally wants to know what Lord George Hamilton, or Lord Elgin either, has done, or is going to do, for the sugar industry in India, which is also "threatened with destruction." Nearly all the Indian industries, in fact, have been gradually extinguished or reduced to inanition; and it looks as if the Indians were to be soon limited to the cultivation of rice and wheat. The rayats, however, are known to be in severe straits; and, as has been seen at Nassik, the dacoits have wreaked their vengeance on the marwaris, as if the moneylenders were at the bottom of the mischief. The steady requirement of money by the Treasury will bring the Government to its senses eventually, one way or another, though in the meantime serious troubles may arise. The unhappy case of the sugar industry ought to draw the attention of the Government from uselessly restrictive to usefully remedial measures.

THE MENACE TO MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS.

THE vigour with which the principle of self-government has struck root in Calcutta is demonstrated by the public protests against the unlucky Mackenzie Bill. On September 2 we printed a telegram from our Calcutta correspondent, announcing that a great and representative meeting of over 4,000 men—"an immense gathering of Native residents and ratepayers," the Anglo-Indian *Englishman* called it—was held in the Town Hall of the city on August 31. That meeting, our correspondent stated, "strongly condemned the withdrawal of the Calcutta Corporation's control over the executive, and prayed either for the withdrawal of the Bill or for the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry." The town, he added, was "greatly alarmed" by the Bill. The intensity of feeling is, indeed, amply illustrated in the current Indian newspapers, where one comes across expressions of trust in the independence and justice of Sir John Woodburn, and hopes for the preferment of Mr. Risley to another sphere of usefulness, which are painfully pathetic. Nothing could illustrate more vividly the sense of helplessness in the hands of tyrannous and arbitrary rulers, or the infatuated perversity of the obnoxious Bill. Meantime, the people—Mahometan and Hindu in unison—are holding more and more ward meetings in protest. There is no longer any question that, apart from the hangers-on of officialism and the slaves of timidity and of personal interest, the people of Calcutta are solidly and intensely adverse to the retrograde and fatal movement which, if successful in Calcutta, is all but certainly destined to overspread the country and to root out the most effective work of British administration during the past quarter of a century. This insane repression of the natural activities of the people in their own affairs is a greater danger to the British Empire of India than even the outrageous folly of trans-frontier militarism. *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*

If the alternative of a Commission of Enquiry were granted—which it will not be—the only result would be to show that the existing system has, on the whole, operated with conspicuous success. The main outline of the facts has already been set forth in our pages by Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt (May 13, 1898, page 295), and by Mr. E. H. Pickersgill (July 29, page 55); and Mr. A. M. Bose dwelt at length on the subject in his speech at the Conference at St. Martin's Town Hall on June 20. There is no question that the administration of the municipality was marked by many shortcomings, which were thrown into unnatural relief by the panic induced by the approach of plague. Mr. Pickersgill frankly laid his finger on several spots; and nobody has denied the patent facts. But where is there any municipality in this world —even in Great Britain and Ireland—where similar weaknesses would not be revealed—and are not in fact from time to time revealed—under similar strain? Look at the East End water supply at the present moment, or any summer you choose; it is a regularly recurrent mischief, involving hardship out of all comparison with anything that has happened, or is in the least likely to happen, in Calcutta. There was a very fair case for remonstrance with the municipality on particular points; and there is nothing whatever to show that the municipality would not, in answer to an urgent representation by Government, have set its house in order to the reasonable satisfaction of the authorities. It is too plain, however, that this rational conduct would not have served the purposes of the authorities, however it would have satisfied the necessities of municipal administration and the public health. The new Bill, with its thousand clauses, is simply an indirect project for throttling India more completely—a supplement to the ill-advised repression that has been so actively carried out in other departments of the life of an expanding nationality. It is a crying disgrace to British administration.

Not only is it a disgrace, but it is a danger of the most momentous character. It is felt to be a gross injustice; and, though the feeling may for the moment compel the people to cower and hope for the best from Sir John Woodburn's sense of right and reason, yet the hurt will leave a scar, if not a running sore destined to breed future trouble. We have gradually initiated the people into the methods and the habit of self-government, and the official reports have continuously recorded a growing success. How is it possible now to tear up the plant by the roots? If our government of India is ever to reach the consummation of success, it can only be through this very process of training in self-government which our wiseacres at Calcutta are labouring to uproot. But now that we have advanced so far—now that the people have taken up with the idea and have become habituated to the practice—the sudden stoppage, under circumstances so intensely felt to be arbitrary and unjust, cannot but administer a dangerous shock to the body politic. Such considerations lie on the surface, and nothing but the blind contempt for Indians and the equally blind spasms of anxiety for fancied self-preservation could prevent the authorities from seeing such obvious and fatal objections to their fatuous proceedings. If the same set of facts had emerged in a community of Englishmen, is it to be supposed for one moment that the Government would have proposed to apply the same remedy? And if they had dared to do so, would it not have been met and overwhelmed with instant derision? But for the official contempt for everything Indian (except Indian pay), and the high-handed temper developed by unrestrained power, this monstrous Bill would never have been conceived. But, further, there is a still more serious point, which is expressly mentioned in one of the resolutions at a ward meeting; and that is that "some of the provisions will seriously interfere with the religious customs of both the Hindu and Mahometan communities." The same point is also freely urged in several of the Indian papers now before us. Here is surely the last lap of hopeless perversity.

It is with much pleasure that we recognise the wisdom and fairness of the writer on "Indian Affairs" in the *Times* (September 15) on the general subject of "Local Governing Bodies in India." We are little concerned now with the general question, except in so far as it lends the strongest support to the opposition to this ill-omened Bill for Calcutta. Calcutta is, in fact, the very citadel of the principle; and if Calcutta falls, the fate of the rest of the municipalities is only a matter of time, unless a really Liberal Government at home presently intervene to reverse the mischief now in contemplation. The writer in the *Times* says:—

> Municipal institutions in India have, during the past year, been subjected to a severe test. The plague not only turned a search-light on the work they have hitherto been doing, but it brought out in a striking manner their capacity, or want of capacity, for duties of an unexpected and onerous kind. A candid review leads to the conclusion that, on the whole, they have emerged with a fair degree of credit from the trial. In certain well-known cases the plague revealed a previous laxity in sanitary arrangements, an inability promptly to meet a great crisis or a want of balance between the deliberative and the executive sides of the local authority. But we must not forget that municipal government in India is a comparatively recent creation of British rule. Starting from Asiatic standards and methods of sanitation, its aim has been gradually to raise the conditions that make for the health and well-being of the citizens, rather than to force on them the highest results of Western hygiene. In important respects, conspicuously in the water supply of the great towns, it has attained a success which compares favourably with the similar provision in some of our English cities, or in parts of London itself. But the low levels of the largest urban areas in India, originally swamps or choked-up tidal creeks, give rise to exceptional difficulties in their drainage and in the disposal of polluted matter. Suddenly the half-results of Indian municipal government have been subjected to the scrutiny of European science—a scrutiny conducted amidst the alarms incident to a terrible epidemic. But on a calm survey of the situation the question arises as to the fairness of applying such a test to the health-conditions of crowded Asiatic cities. It is also doubtful whether any municipal administration, unless greatly over-officered for its normal duties, could have developed its resources for dealing with the plague so as to keep pace with the appalling rapidity and severity of the outbreak. There seems, indeed, a disposition in the worst plague centre, Bombay, to revert from special plague organisations to the regular municipal government in combating the disease.

Here the writer justly acknowledges the "unexpected and onerous" crisis, the incidental "alarms," the gradual "success" of the system, the "exceptional difficulties" of the situation, the application of an unreasonable "test," and the emergence of the local authorities "with a fair degree of credit from the trial." Turning, then, to the general case, the *Times* writer says explicitly: "This question of local government by means of election or nomination is *a vital one* in India, for *it lies at the root of the whole scheme of British rule gradually but surely to train the people in the work of local administration.*" And, "on the whole, the great Indian municipalities have worked well, and the shortcomings of the system are imperfections in detail rather than in principle." And yet again: "So far as the figures enable us to judge, the task of training the

local urban populations to manage their own affairs is steadily and safely going on. It is representation in leading-strings, but already beginning to walk alone." Yet now the Government seems bent on crippling, if not on extirpating, the whole system, beginning with a stunning blow on the head, at Calcutta.

ENGLAND'S "AFFAIRE DREYFUS."

EUROPE, and especially England, is at present turning up the whites of its eyes, in intervals of reading or writing solemn leading articles, about *l'affaire Dreyfus* and the wicked cruelty of the French Government, and to some extent also of the French people, which *l'affaire Dreyfus* is almost universally (outside France) regarded as exhibiting. "Here," say the critics who are so acutely conscious of other people's imperfections, "here is the case of a man, not an obscure man either, but a rather distinguished officer, condemned to an odious kind of imprisonment upon evidence which may or may not be adequate, but which certainly was not communicated in full either to him or to his counsel. What the weight of the concealed evidence may be, one does not know. But one's opinion of it is rightly coloured by that part of the case against Dreyfus which *has* seen the light of day—and that is known to have been forged, and its author has had the grace to commit suicide. Surely, in these circumstances, it will be monstrous if the case is not revised, and if, in the event of Dreyfus's innocence being established before an unprejudiced judicial tribunal, he does not receive the fullest apologies and the most ample compensation for the indignities thrust upon him." That, we think, is a fair statement of the sort of remarks which are now taking up so much of the space of the European Press, and the remarks, it seems to us, are substantially just, although in criticising the conduct of a foreign people whose ways and habits of thought are different from one's own, it is seemly and prudent to speak with reserve. But the English Press has plainly forgotten the ancient and respectable maxim that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. For have not we also our *affaire Dreyfus*, or, to be accurate, an *affaire Dreyfus* aggravated in all its worst and most essential features? The conviction of Dreyfus may have been—we are quite prepared to believe that it was—scandalously unjust. But at least he was brought to trial, of a kind. The brothers Natu, whom Lord George Hamilton caused to be arrested at Poona last year, were not then, and have not since been, brought to trial at all. Dreyfus was convicted, no doubt, upon evidence of which he and his legal advisers had been permitted to see only a part. But when the brothers Natu were deported and imprisoned, and their property (to the great inconvenience of others besides themselves) was attached by the Government of Bombay, not a jot or tittle of evidence was adduced against them. Even the nature of the charge against them was not disclosed either to them or to their legal advisers. Their repeated requests from prison to learn what offence they were alleged to have committed, and their appeals to be confronted with their accusers in a court of justice, were met with stolid and contemptuous silence. And the "reason" for this outrageous and un-English conduct was of the same general type with the "reason" which the authorities in France adduce in self-defence. Dreyfus must be denied a new trial, it is urged, because a new trial would lower the "prestige" of the French army—whether his conviction be regular or irregular, just or unjust, it must remain, and he must suffer the consequences, lest the susceptibilities of military officers, and possibly even the stability of the Government itself, should suffer. So, too, when once the Natus had been arrested and imprisoned without trial, the "prestige" of the Indian Government, and the stability of British rule in India, required that they should continue to be denied a judicial trial even after it had become plain to all the world that the suspicions which prompted their arrest were as empty as the heads of their noisiest accusers.

It would be neither difficult nor fanciful to multiply parallels between *l'affaire Dreyfus* and Lord G. Hamilton's monstrous treatment of the brothers Natu. But let us confine ourselves to one or two points of primary importance which have been by no means sufficiently laid to heart by the responsible public at home. Both cases, then, exhibit (1) admitted illegalities. Nobody, not even anti-Semitic journalists "who daily pawn the dirty linen of their souls for a bottle of sour wine and a cigar," denies that the procedure of the court-martial which convicted Dreyfus was in certain respects illegal and improper. But how about Lord G. Hamilton's deportation of the Natu brothers? He began by attaching their moveable as well as their immoveable property. That is to say, he illegally employed a Regulation which provided merely for the attachment of the landed estates of a prisoner in order to seize the jewels, the ornaments, and the current cash which he found in the household of the Natus. This transaction bore a close resemblance to an act of piracy. Its illegality was at once perceived by everybody save Lord G. Hamilton and his instruments. But it was only after a prolonged tussle, and the wanton infliction of suffering upon innocent men and women, that the authorities were induced to submit to the limitations even of the arbitrary powers under which they had chosen to act. Nor did their contempt for law end there. The circumstances in which, and the purposes for which, the Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 may be used are set out clearly enough in the preamble. It is to be used under exceptional circumstances, not against ordinary criminals, but against persons suspected of treason. Yet, according to Lord G. Hamilton's precise and emphatic statement in the House of Commons, the Natus were arrested because it was believed by the authorities, or some of them, that their arrest would "lead to the unravelling of the plot which had been formed" to assassinate Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst. In other words, the Regulation was illegally employed for the purpose of facilitating the detection of a murderer. And this brings us to (2) the shameful way in which the action of the authorities, alike in *l'affaire Dreyfus* and in the Natu case, has been defended by means of afterthoughts supported by fabricated evidence. M. Cavaignac, in his recent speech in the Chamber, defended the continued imprisonment of Dreyfus on the ground that, whatever might be the defects of the evidence adduced against him at his trial, his conviction was supported by conclusive evidence which had subsequently come to light. That conclusive evidence has since been proved to consist of forgeries. Turn now to the Natu case. The original theory under which Sirdar Natu and his brother were imprisoned without trial very soon broke down. Not only was there not a trace of evidence to connect them with the Poona assassinations, but the actual assassin, Damodar Chapekar, was convicted and executed, and the searching investigation which was conducted in his case failed, as the judge said, to reveal any sign of a conspiracy. But the Natus were not released. On the contrary, Lord George Hamilton, completely shifting his ground, accused them in the House of Commons of being enemies to the measures taken in Poona to combat the plague. And this precious afterthought was founded upon a letter "purporting to be signed" by the elder brother, and to have been received by a nurse in Poona! Much indignation has been excited by *l'affaire Dreyfus*. But what would have been said if the military authorities in France had imprisoned not only Dreyfus but his brother also on the ground that he was supposed to have written a letter which, however, had not been shown to be genuine, and with which he had not been confronted in a court of law?

Finally (3), if the innocence of Dreyfus is established, it is inconceivable that no reparation will be made to him for his unjust imprisonment. But the Natus, against whom nothing whatever has been proved, though much that is in their favour is known, are apparently to receive not so much as a word of apology from the Secretary of State, who in the House of Commons falsely charged them with complicity in murder. There is nothing which reveals the temper of a man more surely than his conduct upon discovering that he has been guilty of injustice towards men who are more or less at his mercy. Tried by this test, Lord George Hamilton appears, we do not hesitate to say, in the most odious light. He has "released" his prisoners by a sort of back door, without a word or a sign of regret—indeed the "release" itself has not set the prisoners free but, if one is to be quite accurate, has only enlarged their prison. Cannot the English Press and the English public, which are so voluble over *l'affaire Dreyfus*, spare a little of their attention and indignation for a crime against humanity which has been perpetrated by a British Cabinet Minister, and which, if one may judge from the fatuous indifference of the home public, might be repeated with impunity to-morrow?

POLICY ON AND BEYOND THE FRONTIER.

By An Anglo-Indian.

It is an open secret that certain large modifications of the trans-frontier policy, as upheld to the close of the Tirah compaign, are closely occupying the attention of the chief authorities who have the controlling voice in this systematically obscured department of Anglo-Indian administration. The change that was coming over the counsels of the "Froward" party was first indicated in popular form in a speech delivered by Lord George Hamilton to his constituents in November last. He spoke of concentrating "our strength" (that is, India's rupees and troops) on "routes and positions only" that are essential to the fulfilling of our engagements—which, however, were not defined. Moreover, every opportunity was to be seized for "opening up roads and communications"—as if the disastrous results of opening up the road to Chitral were already forgotten. All this was unpromising enough. But when the Blue-books, then in course of being selected and edited, were issued, soon after the Session opened, it was seen that there was some little cause for relief. It was plain enough that some of the contributors to those varied records had begun to wish that the routes and outposts set up in the distant passes and defiles occupied by untameable Afghan tribes could be relinquished, especially as there were no "obligations" in respect of them to be fulfilled save those which had been invented by the emissaries of Simla to cover or excuse the invasion of those barren regions. The Blue-books indicated, indeed, that some of the authors or abettors of the reckless policy of retaining British Indian troops at Chitral and maintaining the fortified road thereto were unrepentant; but it seemed that wiser counsels had been heard, and that the Secretary of State was willing to adopt these counsels so far as to shorten the "routes" and withdraw the "outposts" which had cost India so many lives and lakhs of rupees. Thus far the repentant mood was reassuring, the more so as its effect was seen in the entire withdrawal from the Tirah region. But of course very much more remained to be accomplished before the public mind could be fully persuaded that the restless and aggressive policy, revived under the Marquis of Lansdowne and Viscount Cross, and continued by its own inevitable sequence under Lord Elgin, had been really abandoned.

With the advent of a new and inexperienced Viceroy, whose antecedents in this respect are all against him, it is urgently desired in India that some assurance may be given that the ruinous follies of the last ten years should not be repeated, and that the better counsels timidly indicated by the present Secretary of State should prevail. Some ground for hope is afforded by the tone of the officially guided portion of the Anglo-Indian Press; still more by the policy of judicious abstention or conciliatory intervention pursued by the Indian Government's political officers during the recent warfare between our *protegé* the Nawab of Dir, and the Bajaur tribes. But some frank statement is needed before the public here and in India can be confident of a return to the only true and safe policy of "standing fast" on the natural border and statutory frontier of her Majesty's Indian possessions. One follows with anxiety such meagre information as stray telegrams afford. So far as can be gathered from those few glimpses, the struggle that has been going on for some months past in the bureaux of Simla and Whitehall relates chiefly to two branches of frontier and trans-frontier policy which it is difficult though important to keep separate. These are (*a*) the guarding or control of the Khyber Pass, all of which from Jamrud forward is beyond the border; and (*b*) the method of dealing with the frontier proper comprised in the six border districts under the Punjab Government. As to the former, though information is vague, it is evident that counsels of moderation have so far prevailed that certain crazy railway schemes for the Pass have been shelved, and the more ambitious projects for new fortified posts at the Afghan end have been modified. Even yet the plan of keeping the Pass open by the agency of the tribesmen themselves may be resumed. That plan answered well, until it was broken up by the insensate and wholesale invasion of the Pathan country from Waziristan in the south to Drosh and Chitral in the north. So there is room to hope that the Khyber question may be settled in accordance with the more sensible counsels recently accepted.

As to the larger but really more manageable problem of controlling and safeguarding the Punjab frontier proper, that has apparently been passing through acute phases the outcome of which may well be awaited with anxiety. Very broadly, it may be stated that the question is whether that border shall be controlled by the Political Department at Simla—a really irresponsible bureau, though the Viceroy is nominally its head—or directly by the Punjab Government, subject, of course, to final orders on any large issues from the Government of India. The former is roughly spoken of as the new system and the latter the old plan. Though loose in form and phrase this controversy is full of interest; and, it may be said, so far as action in India is concerned, to lie at the very root of the trans-frontier question. This broad aspect of the matter has recently been brought into distinct form in a communication to the *Times* from a distinguished and experienced Punjab officer, entitled, for the occasion, "Expertus." One passage in this valuable state-paper, for such it really is, will suffice to explain the estimate just expressed as to the significance of this large portion of the true frontier problem. After pointing out that the divergence of opinion is not so much between military men on either side, but ostensibly between the Punjab and Supreme Governments, or, as we say, the Political Department of the latter, "Expertus" writes:—

> I may claim for the Lieutenant-Governor and his officers that they have always been most loyal to the Government of India and have done their utmost to carry out the policy of that Government as if it was their own. What has from time to time occurred has been simply this—that when the Government of India has directed some forward move the Lieutenant-Governor and his officers, being in immediate contact with the tribes, have felt more impressed than the Government of India seemed to be with the difficulties and risks, with the amount of force required at starting and to be permanently locked up, and so forth, and have represented this to the Government of India. . . . It is obvious that our attitude on such occasions must be extremely distasteful to the very forward school, and, as it is perfectly certain that officers working directly under the Government of India and looking to it for advancement would be very much less disposed to speak of difficulties or risks in such cases, every member of the very forward school is naturally anxious to see the frontier entirely removed from the control of the Punjab Government.

This simple, reserved, even deferential explanation of the nature and tendency of the local management of the frontier must prove very telling with all impartial lookers on. And in its bearing on the large controversy, that of keeping to our borders or going far outside them, this plain sagacious statement might easily be made more pointed and comprehensive. This wider political application is indeed, for those who have eyes to see, worked out by the experienced writer in the course of his shrewd and painstaking review of the whole subject; but only one more quotation need be given here. After pointing out the difference in the situation twenty years ago and now—caused wholly, as we contend, by evil counsels, mainly at Simla, and weak consents here, he adds: "It is [was] a comparatively easy thing to get the tribes to leave us alone so long as we leave [left] them alone. It is when we can *no longer leave them alone*, but have to establish a control over them—that is, over men who have never been subject to any control and feel a repugnance to the idea of it which could scarcely be expressed in words—that the terrible difficulty begins." Yes, indeed, this is the "terrible difficulty" that has been wantonly and recklessly created by men who have yet to be exposed and placed under penalty for their factious plottings against the true interests of the British-Indian commonwealth.

As to the entire success of the former conservative standfast policy, the concise statement given by the Earl of Northbrook in his reply to Lord Roberts's spread-eagle oration in March last should carry conviction to any man of sober political sense. That reply has since been published (Edward Stanford, Charing Cross), and here reference need only be made to pp. 6-8. Now we will cite, for a practical purpose, another and very different retrospective witness, that is, Sir Lepel Griffin, whose testimony in the *Nineteenth Century* was well set out in India of November last. Take this passage:—

> What is needed is a strong civil administrator whose professional instinct would be in favour of peace and not of war, and who would be content to follow the firm and friendly policy towards the tribes which was pursued with success by Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab: Lord Lawrence, Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir Donald McLeod, Sir Henry Durand, Sir Henry Davies, and Sir Robert Egerton. He would be the full receptacle of local knowledge, on

which the Viceroy and the Foreign Office could safely draw, instead of, as at present, remaining the unconscious instruments of a military clique which is most unwisely endeavouring to deal with the country beyond our border as Russia dealt with Circassia. For in the armed independence of the frontier tribes is one of the surest defences of India.

Note this last sentence, which expresses the very essence of the trans-frontier question; and, for contrast, let any-one who can compare it with the huge and hideous blunder of the disastrous attempts to crush "the independence of the (trans)-frontier tribes" since the fatal Durand demarcation delusion, with the retention of Chitral, the making of that revolutionary "road," the cruel and futile Tirah campaign, and all the waste of life and treasure caused by these aggressions far beyond "her Majesty's Indian possessions," and for which no one as yet has been made penally responsible. But we demur, though with deference, to Sir Lepel Griffin's discouraging opinion that "it is impossible to restore the post system, giving back the frontier forces to the local government." There are, or at least have been, strong statesmen who could still make that Conservative policy possible. If not, and if compromise is inevitable, then there may be much to be said on behalf of Sir Lepel Griffin's modifying suggestion that the six Punjab frontier districts should be given in charge of a civilian Chief Commissioner, who, while in formal alliance with the Supreme Executive, should, if occasion arose, be supported by the only responsible authorities, the Secretary of State in Council, with due and concurrent control by the High Court of Parliament. In the present really acute situation the immediate objective, as it seems to us, is to remove, or at least severely check, the Political Department of the Indian Government in its hitherto baneful dealings with the management of the true frontiers of British India, and sternly to forbid its ever pernicious meddling with the foreign territories beyond the statutory borders of India. This resolve should be accompanied by some authoritative repudiation of the several audaciously jerrymandered maps purporting to show the Indian frontiers, by which the public have been so grievously misled these dozen years past.[1]

OUR LONDON LETTER.

(FROM A PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

It has been announced by a Dover paper that Mr. Curzon's vacated post of Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs will be filled by Mr. George Wyndham. Mr. Wyndham sits for Dover, and it may, perhaps, be presumed that the information which has reached his constituency is correct. Nor do I think that this view of the matter need be in any way affected by the fact that Mr. Wyndham has ostentatiously requested a news agency to announce that he knows nothing about the appointment. Public men have Jesuitical little private reservations with which they satisfy such consciences as they have when they make statements of this sort. It may be that Mr. Wyndham has not had formal and official intimation of his appointment; but there is very little doubt that he is the man selected. Indeed it would be difficult to find another man in the House of Commons, for big as the party is which backs the Government it is by no means rich in promising young men. Mr. Wyndham is an able speaker, is a man of intellectual tastes, and while I think he will answer questions smartly, I don't think he will give offence by airs of superiority, as Mr. Curzon did. Of course it should be remembered that Mr. Wyndham has made himself very prominent as the spokesman of the Rhodes party in the House of Commons—but then Mr. Rhodes's performances come under the cognisance of the Colonial Office.

The Liberals did not win the Darlington election; indeed, the Unionist majority was slightly increased—by about two and a half dozen votes. The Tory party is just now thankful for small mercies, and so a considerable amount of "chortling" was indulged in over the fact that the strongest Government of modern times had actually succeeded in keeping a seat. The explanation of our failure is a double one. Without intending a joke, I may say it was a case of Pease and war. That is to say, it is almost hopeless for any candidate to win against a Pease in Darlington. I have heard it said by men who were down at the contest, men of both parties, too, that if Mr. Pike Pease were to resign next week and stand again as a Liberal, he would go in again. I did not need to be told this, for I know Darlington well, and the influence of the family is almost omnipotent. Then, war had a share in this matter, no doubt; for, absurd though it is, there can be no question that the defeat of the Dervishes helped the Tory candidate. Why the Liberals should be regarded as the friends of the Dervishes, I don't know; but the Tory election agents promptly pounced upon the battle of Omdurman as a conclusive reason why men should vote for Mr. Pike Pease—and it was so, somehow or other.

I referred last week to the danger of complications at Fashoda, where the French are supposed to have arrived with an expedition under Major Marchand. Nothing more is really known as yet, except that Sir Herbert Kitchener has gone to Fashoda, to "explain the situation" to the young Frenchman. The Sirdar has declined to allow any newspaper men near the place, and it is probable that some few days will have to elapse before authentic news comes in. When the public is really strongly interested in a matter, and when the supply of news is cut off at the moment when the public is clamouring for facts, then rumour steps in. It has been so with the Fashoda affair. The papers have nearly every day contained what purported to be long interviews with "important officials" whose names always had to be withheld. First it is "authoritatively" announced in London that the French have acknowledged that they are in the wrong and have sent instructions to Marchand to retire. These instructions are alleged to have been forwarded by the French Government by the British expedition!

Naturally enough the Press of Paris gives tongue furiously. It is denied that the French Government has acknowledged itself in the wrong, and above all it has been pointed out passionately that the French Government would never subject a French officer to such an indignity as to send him a notice to quit by the hand of a British officer. There seems to be something in that last point. The French are great upon points of etiquette. But everything, at the time when this is written, connected with Fashoda is pure conjecture. We must possess our souls in patience. Meantime there is no doubt that France would put up with much to avoid a war just now, for the French are most desirous to concentrate all their energies upon the great exhibition to be opened in 1900. A war would upset all the plans horribly.

There are others who say that France can spare no thoughts for a foreign war because of the continued and continual revelations connected with the Dreyfus case. These theorists argue, "Ah! France has her hands full at home, she has neither time nor inclination to wage a foreign war." I don't think there is going to be war, but I am bound to say that there is nothing in that last "argument." Only a slight knowledge of history is enough to show a man that a foreign war is, or has been, often declared and waged simply to divert attention from troublesome home affairs. I can imagine that not a few leading men in France would give a great deal to have public attention diverted from the Dreyfus case; but I am bound to say that I don't think the French are going to embark on a war with this country merely to change the gossip of the boulevardes from Dreyfus to what is called "glory."

Everyone must have rejoiced to learn that Lieutenant-General Sir Baker Russell, commanding the Bengal army, has issued an order to all officers and men under him calling attention to the cowardly murder by British soldiers at Barrackpur of the aged and much respected Dr. Sircar. Sir Baker Russell denounces the striking and ill-using of the natives of India by our soldiers out there as cowardly, and he warns soldiers that such practices may lead to unpleasant results for the one who commits the assault as well as for those who suffer under it. This message was much needed, and it is to be hoped that it will do good. But it seems to me that adequate punishment would have been even more salutory. The three soldiers who brutally assaulted and killed this refined, elderly and defenceless native gentleman were sentenced to seven years' penal servitude. But why were they not hanged? I am no great believer in capital punishment, and I do not say that

[1] Those who desire to study and understand all that is involved in this question of the Punjab frontier system, may be referred to the masterly detailed description thereof comprised in a series of articles contributed to the *Manchester Guardian* by Colonel H. B. Hanna, since republished (A. F. Childs, Petersfield) under the title, "Defence of India's North-West Frontier."

I should have liked the men to be hanged. But what I want to know is, upon what excuse do authorities rely for punishing a brutal assault resulting in death by only seven years' imprisonment? Moreover, there are many who think that the men would not have suffered at all had it not been for the fact that the case became known in this country and was commented upon. It was the Calcutta correspondent of this journal who sent the news home. But for that, the affair might have been passed by as a "regrettable incident."

Sir George Grey has died during the week at the great age of eighty-six. His career is refreshing and inspiring in these days, when men talk about decadence. He was a great-hearted democrat, and he acted throughout his life upon the principle of trusting and loving the people, and so inducing the people to trust and love him. It need hardly be said that the officials and authorities at home detested and feared him, and dubbed him "dangerous." Yet his services as Governor of South Australia, of New Zealand, and at the Cape, were priceless. He pursued the same policy everywhere. In dealing with native races, he learned their language and ways, he made it quite clear that his word, his promise, was sacred, that they could rely upon him absolutely. The result was that he never appealed to a native race in vain. I have room for but one incident, which illustrates many of Grey's best qualities. He was High Commissioner at the Cape when the news of the Indian Mutiny reached him. There were transports and troops in Table Bay on their way to China. Instantly he saw the right thing to do and said the troops should be diverted to Calcutta. The officers demurred, but Sir George, as High Commissioner, put his orders in writing and insisted. As a result Lucknow was saved. That does not fully describe the incident, however. For Sir George sent away from the Cape to India all the troops, guns, ammunition, even his own carriage horses, and left the colony defenceless, though he had scarcely put down and pacified the Boers and the Kaffirs. The bold course is often the least risky. Sir George Grey rode night and day among the chiefs and explained how troubles in India had forced him to denude the colony of troops. He appealed to the chiefs to preserve order—and as was always the case, he did not appeal in vain. It was simply the character of Sir George Grey that saved much of India and saved the Cape, just as it was his reputation for justice and honour that made South Australia and New Zealand. The fiercest natives learned to love him and call him father. What a superb contrast to the reckless adventurers who mix up running the Empire with "flotations," or to the worst sort of Anglo-Indian official who treats the "natives" like so many dogs.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, September 15.—The Pekin correspondent of the *Times* said that the Tsung-li-Yamen had agreed to concede to a British syndicate the right to construct a short railway from British Kau-lung to Canton; but he added that in spite of Lord Salisbury's declaration that Great Britain would tolerate no interference by any other Power in the matter of the signed British contract for the Niu-chwang railway extension loan, he had given way and agreed to all the conditions imposed by Russia. As a result the Director of Railways had broken off the negotiations with the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank and resumed negotiations with the Russo-Chinese Bank.

All was reported quiet at Candia. The Turkish authorities completed the demolition of the houses adjoining the British camp in accordance with Admiral Noel's demand, and surrendered forty-three of the ringleaders in the recent outbreak, who were conveyed on board the British ships. The Sultan, however, put forward a demand that these men should not be dealt with by the British authorities, but be tried by an International Commission.

A terrible hurricane, accompanied by a tidal wave and a tremendous rainfall, was reported to have visited a large part of the West Indies on Sunday last. The telegraph-cables were broken, and such other damage done to means of communication that it was only to-day that news of the catastrophe reached this country. The islands where the devastation was greatest were St. Vincent, Barbados, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucia. Kingstown, the capital of St. Vincent, was almost destroyed; many plantations were laid waste, and there was an aggregate loss of several hundred lives. Much damage was also done to shipping.

The *Hanover Courier* published an account of the negotiations between the German and British Governments with regard to Delagoa Bay. According to this story, Great Britain made a proposal by which Germany was not only enabled to promote her interests in South Africa, but "was furnished with the only possible opportunity of exercising her influence in another direction." These considerations dictated German policy, and the agreement with Great Britain was entered into.

FRIDAY, September 16.—The American members of the Peace Commission left Washington for New York. They were to sail to-morrow for Liverpool, and expected to make a brief stay in London before going to Paris. The precise nature of their instructions was kept secret, but the State Department authorised a statement which said that at the outset it would be made clear to the Spanish Commissioners that there could be no modification of the demands of the United States. The impression was that the final form of the instructions not only covered the cession of Luzon, but such conditions as would make American control of the whole of the Philippines inevitable, though the possession of the other islands was not desired. No compensation would be given for buildings or public property. The evacuation of Puerto Rico was to begin in two days.

All was again reported quiet at Candia. Seven more of those concerned in the late outbreak were surrendered, and all the prisoners were transferred to the British warships. Admiral Noel had given Edhem Pasha four days for the complete disarmament of the Bashi-Bazouks. The Mahometans were disposed to accept any terms unconditionally. A transport left for Egypt to bring over a battalion of the Rifle Brigade.

It was stated that the French Cabinet meet to-morrow to decide whether the opinion of the special commission at the Ministry of Justice should be consulted on the question of the revision of the Dreyfus case. The Minister of Justice was understood to be convinced of the expediency of this step, and he would be supported by all his colleagues except General Zurlinden.

Further official reports indicated that the effects of the great hurricane in the West Indies were even more disastrous than was at first reported. In Barbados about 10,000 huts had been destroyed, and 50,000 people were homeless. In St. Vincent 41,000 people—about three-quarters of the whole population—were shelterless and without food. Energetic measures were being adopted to forward supplies of provisions and other relief to the islands.—The Lord Mayor, after communication with the Colonial Office, decided to open a Mansion House fund for the relief of the distress.

SATURDAY, September 17.—The polling at Darlington took place. Mr. Pike Pease (L.U.) was returned, receiving 3,497 votes against 2,809 recorded for Mr. O. Philipps (L.)—a majority of 688. The election of Mr. Pease, the second son of the late member, involved no change in the political representation of the constituency.

Admiral Noel desired the foreign warships and the Italian and French troops to withdraw from Candia, the large British force there rendering their presence unnecessary. Having obtained instructions from the Porte, Djevad Pasha ordered Edhem Pasha to proceed immediately with the disarmament of the population. Marines from the "Revenge" occupied a fort commanding the harbour to take delivery of the surrendered rifles, which were to be forwarded to Constantinople. It was stated from Candia that everything demanded by Admiral Noel had been conceded, and it was said that this satisfactory result was entirely due to the fact that the Admiral's action had been untrammelled by interference from the foreign Concert.

The funeral of the late Empress of Austria took place this afternoon in the Capuciner Church, Vienna. At noon the Royal Chapel in the Hofburg, where the body of the Empress had been lying in state since the previous morning, was closed, and at four o'clock the funeral procession started from the chapel to the Capuciner Church. There were immense crowds of spectators, many of them in mourning, all along the route, and the whole city was draped in black.

The French Ministers met in Council in Paris this morning, and the Minister of Justice made a statement regarding the Dreyfus case to the effect that, having examined the papers in the case, he felt unable to arrive at a decision on the question of ordering a revision of the trial until he had taken the opinion of the special commission attached to his Ministry. The Cabinet thereupon authorised the Minister to summon this commission. General Zurlinden, Minister of War, and M. Tillaye, Minister of Public Works, left the Council before its deliberations were concluded, and both subsequently addressed letters to the Premier tendering their resignations. General Chanoine, commander of the 1st Division of the Army, subsequently accepted the portfolio of war, and M. Godin, the Senator representing the French Indies, that of Public Works.

The Paris *Temps* said that Major Marchand was at Fashoda charged with a mission to which France attached real importance, and that every act menacing his person—that is to say, the flag of which he was the guardian—would be considered as carrying with it all the consequences usual in such incidents. The *Temps*, however, expressed the hope that the question would be amicably settled.

The American Peace Commissioners sailed from New York in the "Campania." They expect the sittings in Paris to last

from 40 to 60 days. Confidence was expressed in the United States that Spain would comply with the American demands, because the American army and navy were in a position to enforce them.

MONDAY, September 19.—Sir George Grey, the distinguished colonial statesman, who had held the Governorships of South Australia, New Zealand, and Cape Colony, died to-day. He was born in 1812.

Djevad Pasha, the Turkish Governor of Crete, appeared to have raised difficulties with regard to the disarmament of the Bashi-Bazouks at Candia, demanding that the rifles should be delivered on board a Turkish warship. Admiral Noel, however, insisted that the arms should be surrendered to British officers, and in the course of to-day Djevad telegraphed that the Sultan authorised the unconditional surrender of the arms to Admiral Noel, who was requested to co-operate with Edhem Pasha in the event of resistance on the part of the population. Of this, however, there was no prospect, as the Mahometans themselves declared their willingness to disarm. This afternoon the town criers were proclaiming the order for general disarmament in the streets of Candia, and the Mahometans had begun to comply.

The French Government continued to disclaim any knowledge of Major Marchand's whereabouts. The Paris *Matin*, however, concluded from what was known of his previous movements that the Europeans seen at Fashoda were either the whole of his expedition or its vanguard. The *Temps* contradicted the statement that the French Government had recalled Major Marchand. M. Francis Charmes, in the *Débats*, maintained that if Major Marchand was at Fashoda his position, though materially less strong than Sir H. Kitchener's, was, from a legal standpoint, of the same kind. His establishing himself at Fashoda created for France rights the principle of which she could not allow to be disputed. Major Marchand represents an official mission. An understanding between France and Great Britain on the question might easily be attained, but its terms must be left to the Foreign Offices of the two countries.

The Pekin correspondent of the *Times* said that, in consequence of representations made by the British Government, the Tsung-li-Yamen had instructed the Director of Railways to proceed to the conclusion of the Niu-chwang Railway Loan with the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank.

TUESDAY, September 20.—The German and Italian military attachés, who accompanied the Sirdar to Omdurman, were stated in a Reuter telegram to have returned to Cairo last Thursday. The Paris journals generally repudiated the idea that Major Marchand had been recalled or disavowed by the French Government, but they expressed the opinion that the Fashoda question should be settled by diplomacy, and not by arms.

From Candia it was reported that the disarmament was proceeding; 1,500 weapons had already been collected and were being conveyed on board the flagship, but they were nearly all obsolete muzzle-loaders and old-fashioned rifles, and none of the chief arm of the Bashi-Bazouks, the Martini, had yet been given up.

WEDNESDAY, September 21.—The revision commission held its first meeting at the Ministry of Justice in Paris. The proceedings were strictly private.—The trial was begun before the Correctional Tribunal of Colonel Picquart and M. Leblois, an advocate, who were charged, the former with divulging and the latter with receiving and divulging information affecting the national defence and the security of the State. The Deputy-Procureur asked for a postponement of the trial on the ground that the Military Governor of Paris had ordered the prosecution of Colonel Picquart on a charge of forging a certain document bearing on the case. The postponement was strenuously opposed by M. Labori, Colonel Picquart's counsel, but the Court decided to grant it, and after one or two lively episodes the proceedings terminated, Colonel Picquart being removed in custody.

The Pekin correspondent of the *Times* said that the recent Imperial decrees, which promulgated various extensive reforms, were due to the influence of Kang-Yu-Mei, the Cantonese reformer. Kang-Yu-Mei had now been ordered to leave Pekin. The Dowager Empress had assumed charge of the Government, would be present at all Cabinet meetings and audiences, see all memorials, and approve all edicts before they were issued. This, it was suggested, was equivalent to the virtual restoration of the regency, and the early reinstatement of Li Hung Chang was expected as the result.

INDIA IN THE BRITISH PRESS.

"HOW CIVILIANS PROVOKE INDIANS TO SEDITION."

In an article appearing under this heading the *Investors' Review* (September 16) writes:—

Yes, civilians, and the subject is one of extreme importance. In every recent instance where a soldier has been in charge of a plague-stricken district of the peninsula he has not only carried out his disagreeable duties without friction, but has conciliated the Natives, and made them willing to do as they were directed. The very opposite results have followed the substitution of a civilian as political officer in charge. In Bombay all was quiet while General Gatacre was in command; in Poona it was the same until the unfortunate Mr. Rand took the place of a soldier, and now we have a miserable story of thoughtless tyranny from the Punjab, a story that the Press muzzle, INDIA says, would have kept secret, but for the courage of the editor of the Lahore *Tribune*. We give it here as recapitulated by INDIA:—

"Garshankar is situated in the Hoshiapur district of the Punjab. Early in April the medical officer reported plague in a part of the town, and recommended evacuation. The inhabitants offered strong objection; and Lieut.-Colonel Massy, the Commissioner of the Jalandhar Division, expressed the opinion that it would be enough if the infected families and some others more or less in connexion with them were removed into camp—a limited policy approved by Sir Mackworth Young, the Lieut.-Governor. Several of the people represented their willingness to go into camp provided they were supplied with materials for building huts. Presently Lieut.-Colonel Massy retired from the service, and was succeeded by Mr. Silcock, who reported a more serious state of things than had been laid before Lieut.-Colonel Massy; and in consequence of this fresh representation the local government gave Mr. Silcock discretion to compel the people to evacuate the infected area. On April 27, a proclamation was posted requiring the inhabitants—6,000 in number—to evacuate, not merely the infected area, but the town, and that the very next day, without fail. In the morning Major Inglis, Deputy-Commissioner on special duty, together with the plague officers and the District Superintendent of Police, at the head of a body of 250 police, entered Garshankar to see that the proclamation was obeyed. A disturbance at once broke out. 'A body of police,' said Lord George Hamilton (August 9), 'on entering the town to enforce these orders, was violently attacked by rioters, and twenty-six of them were more or less seriously injured; they fired in return, with the result that nine rioters were killed and twenty-seven wounded.' Answering a supplementary question at the same time, Lord George said, 'The police were subjected to a most violent assault, and they did fire without orders, but in a few seconds, I may say, their officers were able to control them. I do not think,' he concluded, 'they were in any way to blame for firing under great provocation.' Immediately forty-eight of the inhabitants were arrested, and after a four days' trial several—we do not even yet know how many—were convicted and the rest acquitted."

This story reads smoothly enough, does it not? But just imagine what it means to clear out within twenty-four hours a town of 6,000 inhabitants and to leave them shelterless in the open, the sick and the well huddled together. There could have been no necessity for so harsh an edict. It was shockingly bad management, to say the least of it, to drive the people out before some place of refuge had been provided for them, and it also reveals the insolent, caddish contempt which the average civilian feels for the Native. No wonder that the inhabitants resisted. A wonder rather it is that so little blood was shed.

Surely this is a case, as INDIA says, for rigid enquiry, but none has been made, and unless the public here takes the matter up—which it won't do, it caring nothing whatever about India—the episode will pass away into oblivion, like so many similar deeds of inconsiderate absolutism. This is the sad part of the present method of governing India. An indifferent population at home has permitted a system to grow up out there which has absolutely destroyed, or will soon wholly destroy, the old friendly relations between the Natives and their British masters. Only in the army does this relation now subsist, because officers are obliged to know their men, to mix more or less among them, and to take cognisance of their feelings, prejudices, and habits of thought. Therefore when a soldier receives an administrative civil appointment he usually brings to it a familiarity with Native ways that enables him to handle the people with prudence and discretion, often with genuine sympathy.

It is wholly otherwise with the civilian. The desk is his only medium of knowledge. He goes out to India a fledgling, stuffed with verbal lore, and wholly ignorant of men and life. In India he is at once put to do clerical work, and henceforth throughout his official life his time is consumed in compiling reports, making returns, filling up statistical forms—always in scribbling, until he becomes a mere pen-driving machine, when not at home for a holiday. No chance is ever given to him to grow into acquaintance with the people he is supposed to govern, and naturally he comes to regard them as the merest dirt beneath his feet; as pawns, to be ordered hither and thither, without a moment's regard to their feelings, as he himself often is by his superiors. Feelings! How can you transmit feelings through reams of foolscap? We do not know of anything that is more deadly to our supremacy in India than this bureaucratic system, which has reduced the average covenanted civil servant to the position of a ledger clerk in a bank, or a receiver of premiums in an insurance office; made him a man of forms and routine, and nothing beyond. The little story told above illustrates the danger, but for the life of us we cannot suggest a remedy. To go back to the old days, when men lived their lives in India, and knew the people,

seems impossible without something very like a revolution; and yet unless the civilian can be liberated from his desk, and sent forth among the Natives like a man among men, our days in India are numbered. Things cannot go on as they have been doing these last thirty years, nor the harvest of loathing and hate lie for ever unreaped.

SIR BAKER RUSSELL'S ORDER.

We are glad to learn from the "naval and military intelligence" in to-day's *Times* that Lieutenant-General Sir Baker Russell, commanding the Bengal army, has issued an order in the following terms to the British troops under his command:

"In view of the recent outrage committed at Barrackpur by three soldiers, resulting in the death of a Native gentleman and the sentence of seven years' penal servitude on the men concerned, Sir Baker Russell wishes general officers, commanding officers of regiments, battalions, and batteries, and company and squadron officers to take such steps as will most forcibly impress on their men, not only the cowardliness of striking or otherwise ill-using Natives of India, who are frequently so weakly constituted as to be quite unable to bear any rough treatment, but the very serious consequences which may result to themselves as evidenced by the case above quoted."

The order—which reminds us somewhat of the celebrated "Fuller minute"—was urgently needed, and it is satisfactory to find that Sir Baker Russell has had the good sense and courage to issue it. The "recent outrage at Barrackpur," which, as our readers will remember, resulted in the death of the aged and respected Dr. Sircar, is by no means an isolated case. On the contrary, hardly an Indian mail reaches this country without bringing news of some cowardly and brutal attack by a European upon an Indian, and we are bound to add that as a rule the accused person either goes scot-free or receives an absurdly light punishment. The recurrence of these dastardly assaults is, as Sir Baker Russell must know, symptomatic. It is merely the vulgar translation into acts of the sentiments which are found widely to prevail among the "sahibs" in India. That is to say, while Colonel Fitznoodle habitually speaks and thinks of Indians as "damned niggers," Mr. Thomas Atkins feels rather righteous than otherwise in punching the "damned niggers'" heads. The best way in which British officers in India can induce better conduct on the part of the rank and file is to exhibit a better spirit on their own part, and if Sir Baker Russell's order conduces to this end it will have served the most useful purpose. The Barrackpur outrage, be it noted, was not deemed important enough for a message to this country from any of the news agencies which are supposed to keep the British public informed of the course of events in India. We should have heard nothing of it but for the telegram sent by the Calcutta correspondent of our contemporary INDIA. Yet, if some of the Indian journals are right, the conviction of the culprits was largely due to the fact that the case had come to the knowledge of the home public.—The *Star* (September 20).

THE RELEASE OF MR. TILAK.

Mr. Tilak has been released after imprisonment for a year, less one week. "Several thousands of sympathisers," says Reuter, "had gathered near his residence at Poona, and gave him a hearty welcome." "Great demonstrations," says the Bombay correspondent of INDIA, "are taking place at Poona, and there is satisfaction everywhere." This is not a result that signifies a triumph of "law and order." On the contrary, it is a severe popular condemnation of the Government. It matters not now to enquire whether the Government have released Mr. Tilak at the end of two-thirds of his sentence because they have repented of their arraignment of him, or because they have been influenced by the petition presented by Professor Max Müller and other eminent men, or because they expect gratitude for a stroke of leniency by no means anticipated. The facts remain. They have done "justice" on Mr. Tilak, and they have made him a national hero. Not a single Indian that was capable of understanding the original Marathi expressions on which he was convicted has ever believed that he was guilty. His personal record and his official position were wholly in favour of his innocence, and ought to have given pause to the eager executive. But the plague officers at Poona keenly resented his action, just as they resented the representations of the brothers Natu. The Government was thrown into panic by the murders of Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst, and in their feverish blindness seized on Mr. Tilak's historical utterances as seditious instigations. They did not try him at Poona, but at Bombay, one result of which was that neither judge nor counsel, nor the European jurors (six out of the nine jurymen), understood a single word of the incriminated language without an interpreter, who was incapable of conveying to their minds more than the literal equivalent, and not the essential meaning. The three jurymen who did understand the original were for acquittal. The summing-up of the judge was widely declared by eminent lawyers to be distinctly unfair, and Sir John Phear, who had served the State as Chief Justice in Ceylon, did not hesitate to express publicly his opinion that the judge (Mr. Justice Strachey, fresh on the bench) supported his own conclusions, in addressing the jury, "by a course of argument so lengthy, detailed, and ingenious as to be inevitably suggestive of anxiety to obtain a conviction." It is an ugly history. When Damodar Chapekar confessed the murder of Mr. Rand, and was hanged for the deed, and when Mr. Crowe, the magistrate who tried him, declared that he had watched narrowly for any indication of a conspiracy and had not discovered a single vestige of any such thing, one would have thought it was about time to enlarge Mr. Tilak. But that would have been a confession of blundering—the last confession that our Governments nowadays will bow to make.—*The New Age.*

"THE CURSE OF INDIA."

The *Daily Mail* (of all papers!) recently printed the following article—signed "Francis Ford"—under the headings: "The Curse of India: Official Favouritism in High Places":—

At the head of the supreme Government of India stands the Viceroy; and the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor occupies the same position in each presidency or province. Associated with these Chiefs or Premiers are Members of Council or, as they may be termed, Cabinet Ministers. They are either selected in England or—and this the more frequently—chosen in India from among the secretaries.

Provinces under Lieutenant-Governors lack this intermediate stage; the official hierarchy descends straight from the Premier to the secretary.

The secretaries are the heads of the departments, and in this capacity the real dispensers of patronage. In the world of officialdom, which constitutes Anglo-India, their power and influence are enormous. Secretaries have under-secretaries, who aspire to succeed their elders through efflux of time.

These then are the high orders of an Indian administration, with the exception mentioned. (1) Viceroy, Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor; (2) Members of Council; (3) Secretaries or Heads of Departments with Under-Secretaries "devilling" for them.

When the plains in summer become like unto a fiery furnace seven times heated, the Viceroy, the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governors, the Secretaries, and the Under-Secretaries, migrate to the hills, where cool airs blow perennially. Simla, Darjeeling, Naini Tal, Mabableshwar, and Ootucamund, are the names of the summer resorts of the different Governments. Burma has recently discovered Maymyo, which, when the railway is finished, promises to be a worthy rival of the official montane residences across the bay.

This annual exodus to the hills has been frequently inveighed against. It is not likely to be discontinued. Common-sense is all in favour of a cool climate in which the highest work of the State may be carried on.

A post in the hills during the hot weather is the ambition of the great majority of officials. A precious privilege it carries with it, for the married man, is the avoidance of that annual disruption of family ties which is almost a necessity while his duties keep him in the plains. If he cannot himself go to the hills he must send his wife and family there.

Here then is the kernel of that official favouritism which is the curse of India: men and women scheming for seats on the mountain side. Secretaries are human; when their good favours are jostled for, it is perhaps not unnatural that they should set a ridiculously high premium on them. Merit, they cynically argue, is after all largely a matter of private opinion, and in the East private opinion is all powerful.

There is no public opinion in India. You will be told this from Madras to Lahore, by men of every profession and of all shades of thought. Were the subject worth pursuing, abundant evidence could be adduced to prove the statement. One instance—an impersonal one—may be given. Before the Bombay riots last spring public opinion declared that the Native population was in a dangerous ferment. The Government, instructed privately, denied it. So it came about that while the Secretary of State was pooh-poohing in the House of Commons, on the strength of private opinion, all idea of an outbreak, the riot which public opinion had declared to be imminent, was raging in Bombay. This exemplifies the futility of public opinion in respect to eventualities; it is even more impotent as regards the acts of men in high places.

"As it was in the beginning,
So is now official sinning,
And shall be evermore."

A common-place but straight-flung, as Mr. Kipling's words always are, so that they stick. The rhyme haunts one in India. Evermore! Must official sinning be evermore?

Were thieving not felony, and were petty larceny considered a good joke in our particular set, few of us would remain honest men. So, may we take it, as long as a legal offence is not committed, and public protests carry no weight, will favouritism flourish in India, and the pleasant places and rich rewards be given not to men who have borne the heat and burden of the day, but to those possessing influential friends, agreeable social qualities, or fascinating wives.

The district officer, be he magistrate, engineer, doctor, policeman, or forest officer, who stays at his post in the plains

through all weathers, who lives night and day, with famine, cholera, or malaria raging around him, until his health breaks down and he has to go, if death does not previously bring relief, has nothing to look forward to. He may perhaps find his name grouped with a dozen others at the end of a minute, with the barren phrase attached: "Government desires to record its thanks." When the Honours List comes out his name does not appear in it; when an easy district falls vacant, to him it is not given; he has resigned all hope of the highest paid appointments. These are for the Secretary and the Secretary's favourites, who have not perhaps spent three years out of their whole service on the plains among the people.

Never has a more arduous campaign been fought out to more splendid victory than that waged against famine. The brunt of the struggle fell on the District Officer, who had to live for weeks in tents with the thermometer anywhere above 100 deg., without ice, without punkahs, food poor, water bad, encompassed by death, misery hedging him in. The secretaries sat on the mountain tops, writing him minutes, devising new forms for returns. Their office work was certainly heavier than in normal seasons, but they had to endure no personal discomfort, nor to run any risk of life and health. Yet the greater number of honours conferred for famine work went to the secretaries.

A recent Queen's Birthday Honours List affords a very typical case of official favouritism. The superior order of our Eastern Empire is the Star of India. Two knighthoods had to be filled up. The country had suffered from famine and plague, and it had been admitted by the highest authority that these disasters had been coped with bravely and effectively. Among the large number of civilians, doctors, and engineers who had not spared themselves to save the country or to mitigate distress, it might have been thought two could have been selected worthy of the accolade. No; they were all passed over. The lucky two were civilians, whose records of service were good, but who had rendered no special assistance to Government during these trying times. They might well have waited for their reward. But they had influence in the right quarter, and they got the step which should have gone to others, had public opinion been listened to.

Official favouritism is working serious harm to the administration. The rapid retirement of senior civilians directly they can claim their pensions obliges posts of great responsibility to be held by officers with much too brief experience. The fall of the rupee has no doubt something to say to these retirements, but the columns of the Anglo-Indian Press testify there is a feeling of discouragement and despair abroad among members of the Civil Service outside the secretariat coteries.

An officer who has spent twenty years in the district, has learnt the customs of the people and their modes of thought, and knows thoroughly their needs and grievances, realises there is no use in his waiting for a high office of Government if he has never been an under-secretary or secretary. So he goes.

This flight of officials just at the time when their services are most valuable to the country cannot go on indefinitely without a crash. The pen may be mightier than the sword, but India cannot be governed by ready pens. That is what the present régime is coming to. Red tape and ready pens.

The under-secretary is suckled on minutes and weaned on regulations. By the time he attains the full stature of a secretary, he has acquired a morbid contempt of any man who cannot write interminably on any subject.

If we are not careful a day will come when the pens are broken and the tape rent. On that day other things besides tape will run red in India.

ET CAETERA.

The "Carthage," from Bombay for Marseilles, Plymouth, and London, passed Suez on Tuesday morning with the Indian mail.

The P. and O. s.s. "Sunda" leaves London for Calcutta, September 23, with the following among other passengers:—Captain and Mrs. Williams, Mr. and Mrs. du Boulay, Captain and Mrs. O'Callaghan, Mr. G. S. Champness, and Mr. J. Stewart Prentice.

The s.s. "Arabia" (P. and O.) for Bombay, leaves London on September 29. Her list of passengers includes the following names:—Captain and Mrs. Mocatta, Surgeon-Captain and Mrs. Mould, Lieutenant and Mrs. King, Lieutenant-Colonel des Voeux, Sir Cowasjee and Lady Jehangir, Lieutenant-Colonel B. Glover, Mr. Rahman Ullah, and Hajee Ismail Saib.

The P. and O. s.s. "Caledonia" arrived in London, from Bombay, on September 16, with the following among other passengers:—Col. Walford; Surg.-Lieut.-Col. Coubert; Surg.-Lieut. B. J. Bevan; Surg.-Col. and Mrs. J. B. Hunt; Mr. Apcar; Surg.-Major Keluwala; Mr. D. Rai; Mr. and Mrs. Bhose; Abdul Wahfa Khan; Ameer Ali Lyea; and Mohammed El Syed.

The "Sumatra" (P. and O.) from Calcutta, arrived in London September 18. The following names are on her list of passengers:—Mr. M. Adami; Capt. Grenfell; and Lieut. and Miss Gore.

It is stated that Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who recently retired from the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, has been elected without ballot a member of the Reform Club, under the rule which empowers the Committee to confer that honour upon gentlemen of distinguished eminence for public service in science, literature, or art.

Major-General Sir George Wolseley, K.C.B., brother of the Commander-in-Chief, leaves England at once to take over the command of the Madras Army, in succession to General Sir Charles M. Clarke. Sir George has only had a brief turn of leave in this country, but returns to India considerably benefited in health, which is ascribed to this short spell of rest.

Some signs of restlessness (the *Pioneer* says) are reported among the Orakzais on the Kohat border, for no cause that is apparent. If it were the Afridis who were beginning to show an inclination to give trouble, we could understand it, as the Government have left them so long in doubt regarding the future arrangements in the Khyber. Major Deane, Political Officer at the Malakand, will probably take short leave to Simla this month, if no fresh complications occur in Bajour. It seems unlikely that the Nawab of Dir will renew his attempt to annex the Jhandol Valley, as he now realises the strength of the opposition which he has to face; and, further, is aware that the Government absolutely disapprove of his ambitious designs to enlarge the border of his territory. Latest reports show that everything is quiet and all excitement has subsided. The despatch from the Secretary of State regarding future arrangements in the Khyber has been received, and is now under the consideration of the Government of India.

Pundit Piaray L. Atul is one of the successful candidates in the recent examination for the Indian Medical Service.

The Gilchrist Indian Scholar from Madras, Subharama Swaminadhan, M.A., who stood first in the recent LL.B. Examination in the University of Edinburgh, with First Class Honours, has been awarded the Lorimer Scholarship, by the Faculty of Law in that University.

In the Intermediate Senior Examination of the University of London, Ananda K. Coomara-Swami, Inst. Sc. University College, passed in Botany in the First Class.

D. P. Derasari has obtained an Advanced Second Class Certificate in Geology at South Kensington.

At the close of the Summer Session of the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester, Yeshwantrow Raja Pandhra, of Baroda, was one of the four candidates who received the diploma of membership.

The Legislative Department of the Government of India are bringing out a much needed new edition of the General Acts of the Governor-General in Council. The first volume of the series has been issued, and others, it is said, will follow as quickly as possible.

A book, entitled "Les Paris," has been lately published by Mademoiselle D. Menant. It treats of the history, religious beliefs, manners, and customs of the Parsi community, and is written in a sympathetic and appreciative spirit. Mr. E. Framji Modi, Secretary of the Panchayet, and Mr. M. Murzban have given assistance in regard to this work, and the French Government has conferred on these two gentlemen the distinction of Officier d'Academie.

The *Pioneer* writes: In answering a question by Sir Charles Dilke in the Commons on August 11, Lord George Hamilton gave the nearest approach to an explanation of the abandonment of the Khyber that has yet been attempted. "The military authority," said he, "on the spot was the Brigadier-General commanding the Peshawar district, and the opinion he arrived at that, after providing for the safety of the Peshawar Valley, he was not in command of sufficient strength to force the Pass, was confirmed by the Commader-in-Chief in India." What the Brigadier-General commanding the Peshawar district and Sir George White had to decide, however, was not whether the troops at Peshawar were sufficient to force the Pass, but whether they were to let things reach such a predicament that the Pass would ever need to be forced at all. The garrison at Peshawar had been strengthened to something like 12,000 men before Sir Richard Udny intimated the departure of the Afridi *lashkar* from Ningrahar *en route* to the Khyber. Had part of this been detached to support the levies in the Pass, as Captain Barton asked should be done, it is extremely doubtful whether the Afridis would have made the attack on the Khyber posts at all; and the action of the authorities, so far from endangering Peshawar, would have tended to quiet the district. This is no question of wisdom after the event: it is a mere question of nerve, resolve, and common sense, which even before the event was answered very differently by many on the frontier, though they had not the power to give their views effect. Even the Government of India in their despatch of October 1 say:—"The Pass remained open and quiet until August 19, and it was believed that the timely arrival of troops at Jamrud had greatly discouraged the Afridi *lashkar*." Had this been followed up by the despatch of supports to Lundi Kotal and Ali Musjid, the discouragement would have been complete. It was bad enough that the Commissioner of Peshawar should be associated with such a mistake in judgment, but it is worse to find that the Commander-in-Chief in India and the General commanding the Peshawar district should be directly saddled with a share of the responsibility."

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